DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY BOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3828 NAZI WAR CRINES DISCLOSURE ACT DATE 2003 2005

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Case #2886 (Continued)

- I. Reactions to internal conditions
 - A. Conditions of personal life:
 - 1. General:
- a. Are personal circumstances seen as stable, or as shifting? In what areas of personal life does individual feel he can plan ahead?
- b. What do different classes of Russians want out of life? What do they hold dear? In short, what are their aims, ambitions, goals, purposes, motives in life, values, etc.?
- 2. Limitations on geographical mobility (the "claustrophobia" reported by Americans)
- 5. Self-determination \rightarrow "fate in own hands" vs. major external control of behavior.
- a. Extent of need for this demonstrated, and possible deprivation re-
 - 4. Opportunity to rise in status
- 5. Personal history of 50 years (more or less) of struggle: revolution, economic reconstruction, political conflict, war.
 - a. Possible weariness desire for respite; resistance to hardships
- b. Delay in providing promised consumer-goods (government allocation of bulk of national income for defense and producers goods) and services, housing, etc., standard of living. Effect of personal economic deprivation.
 - (1) Degree of confidence that goal of economic plenty will be achieved; response to promises of "better life" in future trend of expectations over the years.
 - (2) Is deprivation perceived as necessary sacrifice for the national interest?
- 6. "Fear psychology" do they feel surrounded by a multitude of prohibitions, transgression of any one of which leads to denouncement, arrest, loss of job or status, etc.?
 - a. What afraid, tense, anxious about?
 - b. Knowledge of definite criteria for "safe" behaviour

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Case #2266 (Continued)

- c. Eyths and facts of "dangerous" behavior
- d. Response of "political duplicity" are the Russians "outwardly a very deceptive people" who have learned to conceal "true" beliefs by a surface conformity?
- (desire for
 7. Do people feel (deprived of "democratic" rights, such as free speech, habeas corpus, etc?
 - 8. Areas affecting personal life which feel free to offer overt criticism
- a. Point (quantitative, qualitative) at which criticism is defined as opposition
 - b. Areas of personal discontent in which overt criticism is suppressed
 - 9. How much truth in the "fetalism" tradition?
- 10. Response to threats and indulgences from government (e.g., penalties for talking to foreigners vs. removal of rationing controls)
- 11. Are favorable or unfavorable comparisons with pre-1917 or early resolutionary days made?
 - B. Work conditions
 - 1. "Soldiering" on the job vs. enthusiasm for work
 - a. Extent
 - b. Attitudes behind
 - (1) Tradition of industrial discipline
 - (2) Inflexibility of factory or work organization, etc.
 - (3) Work habits
 - 2. Limitation on choice of what one is to do and where one is to do it
 - 5. Intra-factory conflicts supervisors, etc.
 - C. Conditions of social political life
 - 1. Important groups with which people are identified
 - a. Comparative strengths of loyalties
 - (1) Local community and national state

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Case #2266 (Continued)

- b. The special problems of the peasant (forced collectivism residues in attitudes; current situation)
 - c. International working class identification
 - d. Conflicts between groups
 - (1) Peasant worker
 - (2) Nationality U.S.S.R.
 - (5) Bureaucrats citizens
 - (4) Communists non-party people, etc.
- e. Fosition of the "new Eureaucracy" (middle level of engineers, professionals, technicians, administrators, managers)
 - 2. Sense of community national "belongingness" and unity: "we-negs"
 - 5. The factory, trade union, collective, as centers of group living
- 4. Patriotism nationalism in relation to Communism as a political ideology
 - 5. Who are the people most admired at home the "models"
 - 6. Social-coordic panic situations
 - a. Purges
 - b. Ruble devaluation
 - 7. Who is <u>blamed</u> when something goes wrong: economically politically
 - D. The government: policies and apparatus relation of state to citizen
 - (interest in l. Degree of (satisfaction with leaders at various levels (identification ("feeling close to")
 - a. Stelin how he feels toward people, his motives
 - b. The Kremlin politbure, top commissars
 - (1) Is the Kremlin united or do people ever think of this?
 - c. Local government

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Case #2266 (Continued)

- (1) The position of the government bureaucrat
 - (a) Fear of purgs
- 2. Beliefs about government organisational efficiency, at different levels
- a. Capacity to provide military security (e.g., Is Soviet military success in World War II accepted by the Soviet citizen as proof of the government's ability to provide for national defense?)
 - b. Capcity to organize domestic economy
 - (1) Reaction to instances of economic bungling
 - c. Capacity to handle local-level needs
 - 5. The intentions of the State toward the citizen
- a. Perception of government as severe (with accent on penalties for non-performance), indulgent, etc.
 - b. Is government primarily concerned about welfare of the people?
 - c. Fairness equality of treatment
 - 4. Political rights and participation
- a. Recognized channels, if any, through which popular opinion is believed to reach leaders
- $b_{\,\bullet\,}$ Belief that government is or is not responsive to needs and criticisms of people
 - (1) Importance of this to people
 - (2) Areas of political criticism and levels of officials at whom criticism might properly be expressed
 - c. Sense of participation in political decision-making
 - (1) Is need to participate felt?
 - (2) In what areas?
 - .5. Degree of identification of Communist Party with government
 - a. Government as minority control
 - 6. In what spheres and in what ways is resistance to authority manifested?

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Case #2266 (Continued)

7. Are there believed to be people within the country who could run it better than those now in power?

a. Are any exiles abroad looked to for leadership?

E. Key institutions

- 1. The Communist Party
 - a. Attitudes of CP members toward non-CP people
 - b. How non-CP people feel they are viewed by party members
 - c. Attitudes of CP members toward their own roles
 - d. How eagerly is CP membership sought?
 - e. Sources from which CP members recruited
- 2. The MVD
 - a. Belief as to why MVD maintained by government
 - b. Concepts of its functions
 - c. Degree of its perceived impingement on the life of the individual
 - (1) Different sorts of individuals
 - (2) What MVD is believed to do autonomously, apart from State function
- 5. The Red Army relation to political structure
- F. USSR's economic resources
 - 1. Comparative strength; re U.S., Europe, etc.
 - 2. Significance to people of new industrial developments like Wagnitogorsk
- G. Soviet information (press, radio)
 - 1. Credence
 - a. Limitation of events reported (censorship)
 - b. Limitation of objectivity (bias and propaganda; fabrication)

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Case #2266 (Continued)

- (1) Identification of news as reaction
- (2) Differences in press vs. radio credence
- (5) Differential credence for different types of materials e.g., foreign affairs vs. domestic affairs, or national vs. local, economic vs. political, etc.
- 2. Needs "information hunger" specific sorts of information wanted, not satisfied by domestic sources
 - 5. Opinion about purpose of providing information
 - 4. Radio listening habits
 - 5. Rumors and "black news"
 - a. Extent of circulation
 - b. Topics
- II. Reactions to external conditions
 - A. Belief in "encircled by hostile capitalist states" theme of Soviet propaganda
- l. Acceptance of agressive external policy as essentially defensive, for security
 - B. Soviet foreign policy and position
 - 1. Status of the USSR popular sensitivity to Soviet prestige abroad
- a. Need to feel selves included among European "civilized" peoples --- accepted
 - b. Need to be respected and/or like by other peoples
 - 2. Soviet policy re US and Britain
 - a. Wartime
 - b. Current
 - (1) Do people feel that Soviet Union must or should expand its area of control in Europe and Asia?
 - 5. Desire for peace
 - a. Belief that it is possible, and that political equilibrium attainable

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Case #2266 (Continued)

- C. Allies
 - 1. Are they seen as trustworthy?
 - 2. Are they seen as strong or weak military assets or liabilities?
- D. Potential enemies
 - 1. Accessibility of USSR to enemy attack
 - a. Air
 - b. Land
 - 2. What is particularly admired about "the West"
 - 5. That is particularly disliked about "the West"
 - 4. The United States
 - a. Attitudes toward the American people
 - b. Attitudes of American people toward flussia
 - c. Belief about intentions of U.S. government toward the Soviet Union
 - d. Beliefs about U.S. social structure
 - 1. Unity social solidarity
 - 2. Position of workers
 - (a) Economically
 - (b) Socially '
 - (c) Loyalty to U.S.
 - e. Beliefs about U.S. industrial and scientific capcity
 - f. Beliefs about U.S. military capacity
 - g. Beliefs about the atomic bomb
 - (1) Its power
 - (2) U.S. intentions on its use
 - h. Beliefs about U.S. civilian morale during war

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Case #2266 (Continued)

- E. Information from abroad
 - 1. The Voice of America
 - a. Who listens?
 - b. How do they react to specific sorts of programs?
 - c. Comparison of effects of Voice of America and BBC
- 2. Effects of reports by Red Army veterans on living conditions in capitalist countries observed during and after war
- III. Reactions during wartime, to specific wartime conditions
 - A. Military discipline
 - 1. Desertions etiology
 - 2. Panic or rout situations stiology
 - 5. Vlasov and his movement
 - B. Civilian discipline
 - 1. Reactions to Inftwaffe bombing attacks
 - a. Of what intensity?
 - b. Where?
 - 2. Reaction to news of Luftwaffe bombing attacks
 - 5. Reaction to news of military defeat blame?
 - 4. Response to "taking it" when no anti-German retaliation
 - 5. Resistance possible to hardship in living conditions, food, etc.
 - 6. Panic situations etiology
 - 7. Response of communities to Germans
 - C. Worker discipline
 - 1. Absenteeism
 - 2. Efficiency of plant-worker evacuation procedures

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Case #2266 (Continued)

- D. Reaction to German behavior
- E. Lessons learned from Partisan (anti-authoritarian) movement
- B. Did any individuals known to respondent ever reach a point where they were willing to give up the war?
 - 1. Under what circumstances?
 - G. Nationalistic vs. ideological appeal effectiveness
- H_\bullet In what part of the country did people think it comparatively "safe" to hide from German air attacks or ground attacks?

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